42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

lighten that of the young shaman who has to confide these things to memory. Here stops the exclusive rôle of the *dorardkit* or shaman as far as religious instruction is concerned.

Dancing and singing, whether religious or otherwise, are learned by pure imitation. Songs are improvised most of the time; the only exceptions are a few scattered terms and a limited number of sentences, more especially a kind of refrain or burden, that recurs at the end of every verse or every stanza in most Isneg songs. These traditional terms and sentences are mostly archaic, and their meaning is a mystery to at least the generality of the Isneg; perhaps some of them have never had any meaning at all.

All Isneg beliefs, whether they have to do with magic or with religion, whether they refer to the world of spirits or to the state of a person after death, are simply picked up, or, as the Isneg put it, "they hear them (*mazi-nâda da*)." This means that there is no formal instruction about the matter. Aged persons, particularly old women, and still more especially shamans, freely talk about these things at the slightest provocation, and youngsters are always eager to listen to them. This, however, does not exclude the possibility and even the probability of the members of the older generation talking about magical or religious beliefs purposely and with the direct intention of telling the children about them. And that such instruction, whether intended or not, is sometimes really very efficacious is proved by the fact that I have had among my informants girls of barely ten years old who know everything about certain spirits and could vividly describe them to me. This is the more easily understood when one remembers that all these extraordinary details agree very well with the usual trend of the Isneg mind toward the supernatural, so that the children experience little difficulty in keeping them impressed upon their memory.

Myths and legends, stories and tales, which by the way are sometimes far from being religious, are mostly related by the parents and grandparents in the evening, when the whole family is stretched out on the floor and ready to sleep. The Isneg are not in the habit of making much use of artificial light, and they very often go to sleep almost at sunset, so that there is usually ample time for the old people to comply with the wishes of the youngsters, who among them as well as among us, are always eager to hear a story, and the more fantastic the story, the better. Even young boys and girls are sometimes invited to play the rôle of story-teller, provided they are known

42 Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

to be able to do so; and the same story may be repeated several times all over again on different occasions without the young people losing any interest in the matter.

The cry "*udôdit*" (a story) is heard very often when the young people have placed themselves in a position for slumber, and the exclamation "*udôditko*" (I have a story; literally: my story), emitted by an uninvited story-teller, is usually sufficient to gain him the attention of all present. Consequently Isneg tales are mostly bedtime stories; nevertheless it also happens that they are recited, this time mostly by men, at the opening of a jar of *bási* (alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), or rather during the absorption of its contents. On such occasions, whenever an old man begins to tell a story, the youngsters have no sooner got wind of the affair but they leave everything in order to come near and to listen all ears to these wonderful happenings of times gone by or of a world alien to their own. It may sometimes happen also that parents or grandparents call their children or grandchildren together at the time of going to sleep in order to relate to them some traditional myth or legend: in this case, of course, the teaching should be called entirely formal.

How to look for omens and auguries and how to distinguish between good and bad ones are both the subject of almost exclusively direct instruction. Parents and older brothers and sisters are the accepted purveyors of this knowledge, which to the Isneg is absolutely indispensable if he wants to live in peace and beyond the power of malevolent imps and spirits.

E. MORAL EDUCATION

When reading books of travel, especially old ones, written by men who spent a few days at the home of some primitive people, one usually meets with the statement that the latter seem to have no concept of truth and honesty, and one almost always meets with several concrete instances, which apparently prove the truth of that assertion. Not to go too far out of my way, I shall cite as an example a book that has to do almost immediately with the Philippine Islands. We read in the account of Magellan's travels written by Pigafetta that on a certain day, during his famous voyage which led to the discovery of our archipelago, the expedition landed at a place among a group of islands, the inhabitants of which boarded the vessels, laid hands on whatever took their fancy and ran away to hide among the bushes;

46: Wilson
● 538, 539, 773, 173

OA5 Apayao OA5

[For the texts of various Apayao myths and folktales, see category 116, pp. 44-170. --Analyst]

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes, when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal observation of its still numerous cultural remains, something of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed little changed during the long centuries during which their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the streams of the country along which most of them live. They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain sides for safety. Many of their communities are named after the streams near which they are located. A considerable part of the food is obtained from the streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the transportation is on the streams, and the men are expert boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy season transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from each other for many centuries so that there has come to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects.

low box about three feet square, filled with earth. In its center are set on end three long stones in a triangular position, which hold the clay cooking pot over the fire beneath. Fire is obtained by striking flint with steel and kindling tinder with the spark; or by rubbing two bamboo sticks together. There are also a round-bottomed iron frying pan and various paddles and ladles. Above the stove is a drying rack, and against the end wall are secured shelves which hold the old Chinese plates and other articles and materials. This end of the room is used for the kitchen, sometimes as the dining room, and as a general work shop. Woven sleeping mats are used, and there are chests for the securing of precious articles. Light from the fire furnishes illumination at night.

There should also be several lovely old ancestral Chinese jars, *gasi*, probably of the Ming dynasty period. In these is kept the *basi*, a pleasant wine made from the juice of the sugar cane. These ancient Chinese jars are much prized by the people. They have a typical shape, and range in size from one to three feet in height. Some of them have dragons and other figures embossed on them. Others have pictures of Chinese scenes and conventional patterns: this being especially true of the white jars with blue designs. They are glazed; some in lovely shapes of brown, yellow and blue. The people have quite a lore about them. There are a number of different varieties and different qualities in each variety. The *dordori* stands first; next is the *gargogod*. Some of the others are the *dinalasan, banaag, kindi-ingan, binilibil, boddi* and *sarang*. Much of the wealth of the Apayaos is held in these jars, together with the beads.

FOLKLORE

Folklore is the fabric upon which the people 121
weave the pattern of their future. It is woven from materials composed of the religious beliefs, customs, habits, and daily life of the people. If these are changed by migration, borrowing from other people, or by internal alteration, the result is a different culture in the future.

If one were to make a complete collection of all the folklore of the people during their varied life, he would have the basic material for a cultural history of that people. For folklore has also sometimes been called the vine that clings to the crumbling ruins of man's progress upward.

The culture of the Apayaos has remained much 178
the same during many long centuries: there has been 121
little progress upward. Thus the interesting old vine has been growing and expanding. If you look at it carefully, you will observe much of the culture of these people.

The Apayao people tell their stories in two ways. 538
The short way is used at such times as when they hap- 517
pen to meet together, perchance on the trail, or are resting for a while. It is a simple narration of events.

The long way is used when time hangs rather heavily during the confinement of the torrential rains, or in the long evenings. These story hours are much enjoyed and are the principal amusement of the people. An old woman or man, steeped in the lore of the past, 538
makes the best story teller. He spins out his tale using a certain pleasing tune, *sanimela*, which at times

538 is rather monotonous and at other times becomes excitingly thrilling, according to the drift of the story.

538 522 In order to follow the tune, the narrator will often draw out the end of some words or maybe add meaningless syllables. There are many repetitions of action and thought, as well as inconsequential happenings. Incongruities of action and sudden transitions of scene often occur. Once in awhile the narrative is broken by some ludicrous incident just as you have clowning in a drama. The greater pleasure is not so much in following the development of the plot of the story as it is in the delightful manner of the telling. Yet the plot is interesting, being often based on some [513] practical joke. Listening to such a story is really a very happy way to spend an otherwise dull time. Sometimes the people stay up all night and listen to them.

126 However, if one wrote down every syllable which the story teller uttered in narrating one story, he would have a book which very few people would care to read. Therefore most of the folk tales in this little collection are written in the short way. With some, the popular dialect used (sometimes ungrammatically) is also given. The English following is a free translation. Sometimes two versions of a story are given.

121 538 773 776 Some students make distinction between myths and folktales. But the people have only one name, *adodit*, for both; and as a matter of fact, there are few folktales which do not have a religious element. In the early days the main distinction between *anitos* and men was that they lived in a different place: the only physical difference being that the female *anitos* had only one breast which was in the center of their

bosoms. It was possible for an *anito* to be a man or for a man to become an anito. If the people make so little distinction between gods and men, why should I? 121 538 773 776

Anyhow, here are some of the Apayao tales.